

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
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DODE-00 /082 W
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R 200955Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9271
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ABIDJAN 5847

DEPT PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

LAGOS FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY AND ANNE HOLLOWAY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EAID, EFIN, PINS, MOPS, IV
SUBJ: BRIEFING IVORIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON ZAIRE

REF: (A) STATE 148408, (B) STATE 150472

SUMMARY: IVORIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, THOUGH FAVORABLE TO IDEA
OF CREATING PERMANENT INTER-AFRICAN FORCE, DOES NOT RPT NOT SEE
HOW THIS COULD BE DONE IN CONTEXT OF OAU AND BELIEVES SUCH A
FORCE COULD PROVE DIVISIVE IF CREATED OUTSIDE OF OAU CONTEXT.
WHILE GOIC HAS CONTRIBUTED TO SHABA FORCE, IVORIAN OFFICIALS
BELIEVE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT MUST UNDERTAKE BASIC REFORMS AND EX-
PRESS INCREASING DOUBTS THAT MOBUTU IS CAPABLE OF DOING SO.

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END SUMMARY.

1. IN MEETING JUNE 17 WITH FOREIGN MINISTER AKE
AMBASSADOR, TOGETHER WITH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
DALLEY AND ANNE HOLLOWAY, DISCUSSED SITUATION IN
ZAIRE FOLLOWING PARIS AND BRUSSELS MEETINGS AND
DISPATCH OF INTER-AFRICAN FORCE, INCLUDING IVORIAN

MEDICAL TEAM, TO SHABA PROVINCE. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT IN PARIS MEETING, U.S. HAD REFRAINED FROM EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR PERMANENT INTER-AFRICAN FORCE AND ASKED WHAT IVORIANS THOUGHT OF THIS CONCEPT.

2. AKE SAID THAT HIS OWN INSTINCT WAS FAVORABLE TO EFFORTS TO CREATE A PERMANENT INTER-AFRICAN FORCE. PERHAPS THE MOST PRACTICAL APPROACH WOULD BE TO PROVIDE SPECIAL TRAINING FOR UNITS IN CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH COULD BE EARMARKED FOR DEPLOYMENT TO MEET SPECIFIED EMERGENCIES ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON WHETHER INTER-AFRICAN FORCE WOULD BE CONTROLLED BY OAU, AND IF SO HOW, AKE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN CONSENSUS WITHIN OAU ON HOW FORCE WOULD BE USED. ON THE OTHER HAND, AKE AGREED THAT INTER-AFRICAN FORCE CREATED UNDER OTHER THAN OAU AUSPICES WOULD RISK REINFORCING EXISTING POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN OAU. IT WAS OBVIOUS, HE CONCLUDED, THAT DEFINING THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR A PERMANENT FORCE WOULD BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN CREATING ONE. FOR THIS REASON AKE WAS INCLINED TO TEMPER HIS ENTHUSIASM FOR THE IDEA. HE THOUGHT ALSO THAT HOUPHOUET HAD NOT YET MADE UP HIS MIND ABOUT HOW SUCH A FORCE COULD BE ORGANIZED.

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3. TURNING TO THE EMERGENCY IN SHABA, AKE SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE MILITARY ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM WAS THE EASIEST TO SOLVE. FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS WERE NEEDED IN ZAIRE AND AKE WONDERED FRANKLY WHETHER MOBUTU WAS CAPABLE OF BRINGING THEM ABOUT. EVERYONE WHO DEALT WITH MOBUTU KNEW HIS FAULTS AS A LEADER. THE QUESTION WAS ALWAYS WHO WOULD REPLACE HIM. THERE WAS NO POINT IN PERMITTING MOBUTU TO GO UNDER IF THE RESULT WAS ANARCHY, FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND MORE BLOODSHED. AKE AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR MOBUTU WOULD BE A MISTAKE. PRESSURE HAD TO BE MAINTAINED ON HIM BOTH TO IMPROVE HIS ADMINISTRATION OF ZAIRE AND ZAIRE'S RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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DEPT PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

LAGOS FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY AND ANNE HOLLOWAY

4. REGARDING THE LATTER POINT, DEPUTY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY DALLEY ASKED AKE WHETHER THE IVORIAN GOVERN-
MENT STILL BELIEVED A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT
OF DIFFERENCES WAS POSSIBLE BETWEEN LUANDA ON THE
OTHER HAND AND MOBUTU AND JONAS ZAVINBI OF UNITA ON
THE OTHER. AKE SAID THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO KEEP
TRYING. PERHAPS LUANDA WOULD MAKE SOME EFFORT TO
NEUTRALIZE THE KATANGA GENDARMES IF THE MPLA RECEIVED
IN EXCHANGE ASSURANCES FROM MOBUTU AND UNITA.
ADMITTEDLY, PROSPECTS FOR A RENEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT
OF THESE TRIANGULAR DIFFERENCES WERE GLOOMY. THE
ALTERNATIVES, HOWEVER, WERE WORSE.

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5. COMMENT: DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE HAD WITH IVORIAN
OFFICIALS ON THE SUBJECT OF ZAIRE DURING THE DALLEY/
HOLLOWAY VISIT HAVE ELICITED MORE DIRECT
CRITICISM OF MOBUTU THAN IVORIAN OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN
WILLING TO EXPRESS IN THE PAST. THE PRESIDENT
OF THE IVORIAN SUPREME COURT, ALPHONSE BONI, ON JUNE

16 WAS ESPECIALLY OUTSPOKEN. REFERRING TO THE
EXECUTION EARLIER THIS YEAR OF FOURTEEN SAIRIANS
ACCUSED OF PLOTTING AGAINST MOBUTU, BONI SAID THAT
HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED MOBUTU HAD EXECUTED THESE
DEFENDANTS WITHIN HOURS OF THE COURT VERDICT
BECAUSE HE FEARED A TELEPHONE CALL FROM HOUPHOUET
URGING CLEMENCY. BONI SAID THAT POLITICAL EXECUTIONS
COULD ONLY BEGET FURTHER VIOLENCE AND FUTURE
INSTABILITY IN ZAIRE.
STEARNS

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